

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 077465  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA:ARDAY:TH  
APPROVED BY NEA:ALATHERTON, JR.  
INR - MR. SAUNDERS  
S/S:S. GOLDSMITH

-----070240Z 094158 /61

R 070207Z APR 77 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

S E C R E T STATE 077465

NODIS  
FOR AMBASSADOR FROM ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SY, IS, US, PLO, XF

SUBJECT: MIDDLE EAST PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

REF: DAMASCUS 2004

1. I APPRECIATED YOUR THOUGHTFUL CABLE AND I AGREE WITH MUCH OF THE ANALYSIS. THE PNC MEETING CERTAINLY SEEMS NOT TO HAVE ADVANCED THE CAUSE OF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND ONLY TIME WILL TELL WHETHER IT HAS MADE THE OBSTACLE OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION EVEN MORE FORMIDABLE. YOU MAKE A GOOD POINT WHEN YOU SAY THAT TENSIONS ARE LIKELY TO BUILD UP RATHER QUICKLY ON THE ARAB SIDE AFTER THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS, ALTHOUGH WE MAY BEGIN TO SEE THIS ONLY AFTER THE NEXT ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN FORMED. THIS COULD BE AS LATE AS JULY. IT WILL CLEARLY BE IMPORTANT AT THAT POINT TO HAVE SOME MOMENTUM TO MAINTAIN THE  
SECRET

SECRET

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CREDIBILITY OF THE PROCESS.

2. I AM INTERESTED THAT YOU BELIEVE THERE IS EVEN A POSSIBILITY OF ASAD'S AGREEMENT TO A SEPARATE SYRIAN-ISRAELI NEGOTIATION. ON THE BASIS OF OUR EXPERIENCE TO DATE, I WOULD HAVE THOUGHT THIS RATHER UNLIKELY, BUT YOU ARE CLOSER TO THE SCENE THAN WE ARE. NONETHELESS, ANY

SUCH EFFORT SEEMS AT BEST TO BE DOWN THE ROAD. WITH OUR

IMMEDIATE ACTIVITY FOCUSED ON TRYING TO GET TO GENEVA,  
TO THROW SUCH AN IDEA OUT NOW EVEN IN NON-SPECIFIC TERMS  
COULD SOW CONFUSION ABOUT OUR OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY.  
WE WILL KEEP THE IDEA ON THE BACK BURNER, HOWEVER, UNTIL  
WE SEE HOW THINGS GO ON OUR PRESENT COURSE.

3. ONE OF THE QUESTIONS THAT OCCURS TO US IS THAT OF  
THE SIMPLE MECHANICS OF AN ISRAELI-SYRIAN NEGOTIATION  
LOOKING TOWARD A FINAL SETTLEMENT BETWEEN THEM. IF  
GENEVA IS FORECLOSED BECAUSE, PRIMARILY, OF THE  
PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION ISSUE, HOW WOULD YOU SEE  
A BILATERAL NEGOTIATION BEING CONDUCTED? I ASSUME WE  
WOULD STILL HAVE TO TAKE SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PALESTINIAN  
DIMENSION AND CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF A SOVIET ROLE AS  
WELL.  
VANCE

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SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 077465  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:S/S:SGOLDSMITH

APPROVED BY:S/S:SGOLDSMITH

-----070621Z 096242 /12

O 070601Z APR 77 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 077465

NODIS

FOR DR. Z. BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING SECSTATE 077465 SENT ACTION DAMASCUS APR 7; REPEATED  
TO YOU QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 077465

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SY, IS, US, PLO, XF

SUBJECT: MIDDLE EAST PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

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SECRET

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PAGE 02 STATE 077465

PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION EVEN MORE FORMIDABLE. YOU MAKE A GOOD POINT WHEN YOU SAY THAT TENSIONS ARE LIKELY TO BUILD UP RATHER QUICKLY ON THE ARAB SIDE AFTER THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS, ALTHOUGH WE MAY BEGIN TO SEE THIS ONLY AFTER THE NEXT ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN FORMED. THIS COULD BE AS LATE AS JULY. IT WILL CLEARLY BE IMPORTANT AT THAT POINT TO HAVE SOME MOMENTUM TO MAINTAIN THE CREDIBILITY OF THE PROCESS.

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IMMEDIATE ACTIVITY FOCUSED ON TRYING TO GET TO GENEVA, TO THROW SUCH AN IDEA OUT NOW EVEN IN NON-SPECIFIC TERMS COULD SOW CONFUSION ABOUT OUR OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY. WE WILL KEEP THE IDEA ON THE BACK BURNER, HOWEVER, UNTIL WE SEE HOW THINGS GO ON OUR PRESENT COURSE.

3. ONE OF THE QUESTIONS THAT OCCURS TO US IS THAT OF THE SIMPLE MECHANICS OF AN ISRAELI-SYRIAN NEGOTIATION LOOKING TOWARD A FINAL SETTLEMENT BETWEEN THEM. IF GENEVA IS FORECLOSED BECAUSE, PRIMARILY, OF THE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION ISSUE, HOW WOULD YOU SEE A BILATERAL NEGOTIATION BEING CONDUCTED? I ASSUME WE WOULD STILL HAVE TO TAKE SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PALESTINIAN DIMENSION AND CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF A SOVIET ROLE AS WELL.

VANCE UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** INSTRUCTIONS, PALESTINIANS, PROGRESS REPORTS, PEACE PLANS, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 07-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
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**Document Number:** 1977STATE077465  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** ARDAY:TH  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
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**Message ID:** 6b1e49a8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Reference:** 77 DAMASCUS 2004  
**Retention:** 0  
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**Review Transfer Date:**  
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**SAS ID:** 2865768  
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**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MIDDLE EAST PEACE NEGOTIATIONS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PEPR, IS, SY, XF, US, PLO  
**To:** DAMASCUS  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009